THE NATION

AUGUST 12, 1961 . . 25c

The President's New Strategy

RETURN TO THE FOOT SOLDIER

Jerry Greene

EVOLUTION OF NON-VIOLENCE

Two Decades of Sit-Ins

Carleton Mabee

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LETTERS

Military and Politics

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading the Gottfried and Davidson article, "New Right in Action," and it hit me so hard that I felt comment was necessary. First off, *Communism on the Map* was a distortion, and no one except the Birchers will argue against that. However, the same does not apply to *Operation Abolition,* which has come through the storm of controversy concerning its accuracy intact. . . .

Politics and the military is today a hot subject and a new one for the United States. The old masters of the military art, the German General Staff, agreed that the military and politics cannot be allowed to mix. (When they spoke of politics, they meant the domestic politics and final decisions in foreign policy.) The U.S. military is not violating this rule when it seeks to prepare the men in uniform, active and reserve, for a possible hot war. . . . CHARLES F. BRYDON
Charleston, S.C.

The full facts about Operation Abolition *may be found in a pamphlet of the same name distributed by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, at 50c the copy.*—ED.

A Worry Off Your Mind

Dear Sirs: Thank you for your editorial, "The Nuclear Mortician" (July 29). While I don't myself expect to be able to profit from the good offices of the Civil Defense Mortuary Service, it is a comfort to know that my family, and my husband's family, will be properly put to rest. . . . CAROLYN K. DENNIS
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Shuffle the Letters

Dear Sirs: David Cort, the Sam Lloyd of the 60s, offers a gallant but unnecessary defense of the crossword puzzle ("The Crossword Addict," July 29 issue). Crossword puzzles are the last refuge of reader-participation as opposed to the mere spectator sport of being exposed to canned columns of press agentry and TV panels of wiseacres and cuties. . . . The tricks and wanton wiles of crossword construction in *The Nation, New Statesman, Manchester Guardian* and such, school the addict in a special arcane language and logic, keeping the puzzler on his toes and with his guard up. A few years back a fellow puzzler, now removed from New York, wrote me that he would be in town, suggested a meeting at Bleeck's saloon at cocktail time, and asked what day of the next week would be most suitable. This writer dispatched a wire to the old soak reading REFORM IF A DRY. The rendezvous came off as planned and a good time was had by all. HOWARD CUSHMAN
Philadelphia, Pa.

"The CIA" Sold Out

Sorry — we can accept no more orders for our special issue, "The CIA."

The original printing — much larger than normal — was gone quickly, and a subsequent second printing has now been sold out, too.

A third printing is impossible, since the plates for the issue have been destroyed.

Money for unfulfilled orders will be returned — together with our sincere apologies for having failed to anticipate adequately our own success.

THE EDITORS.

Freedom in Childhood

Dear Sirs: I read with great interest the article on juvenile delinquency by Joseph Margolis in your July 15 issue. As a young man with an infant son, I now find myself with a vested interest in how my community is organized. Unhappily, I find what most young parents find today: that our community is disorganized, that its members each go their own way without any concept of the "community."

In *Summerhill: a Radical Approach to Child Rearing,* the Englishman A. S. Neill goes much farther than Mr. Margolis. Mr. Neill thinks that a great deal more freedom should be given the child at a very young age, rather than at a later time. He has operated his private school for forty years on three principles: freedom, respect and democracy. The children do practically everything they want to do (except that which injures another or his property; of course, the child is not allowed to endanger his own safety). Each child is treated as an individual in his own right; and the internal democracy of the school is nearly complete—each child and each adult has one vote (and the kids outnumber the adults) in the weekly meeting which is the major governing body of the school.

I am greatly moved by the approach and I wonder what others think of it.
Cincinnati, O. BARRY W. STREJCEK

No Party Line Here

Dear Sirs: Warmest congratulations on David Cort's telephone piece, "Don't Call Me" (July 1 issue). This has long needed saying, and I never expected to have it said so well. ALLAN TEMKO
Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Sirs: In all the nearly forty years of my acquaintance with *The Nation* (I've been a subscriber continuously for thirty-five years), I've never read anything so nonsensical as David Cort's article, "Don't Call Me." . . .
Oak Park, Ill. LOUIS B. CELLA

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1961
VOLUME 193, No. 4

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Bizerte and Berlin

What happened at Bizerte contains a lesson for those who would battle over Berlin. A part of the lesson is that in these affairs, nothing ever comes out the way it was planned. Another part of the lesson is that when the statesman calls on the lads in battle dress, they are apt to do the job in their way, not his. The principal moral, however, is that, if you are going to end up talking anyway, you can avoid expense and casualties by not reaching for the hardware in the first place.

As relations between statesmen go, Bourguiba and de Gaulle were good friends. Both are men of thought and moderation. Bourguiba, in fact, was so moderate that he became a pariah among the Arabs. He felt he had to play the role of a man and get the French out of Bizerte. De Gaulle had made some vague commitments in that direction, but he had the French Army to reckon with. As Bizerte went, so would go Mers-el-Kébir in Algeria. The French sat tight in Bizerte, and the Army even lengthened an airstrip and showed all signs of staying for dinner. Goaded to action, Bourguiba gave the word to his young men who, not being as experienced as they were brave, got a bloody nose from the French paratroopers. Where the paratroopers could have made the point by killing a hundred Tunisians, they killed a thousand. De Gaulle was not there to stop them.

With the hornets loose, de Gaulle lost control of the situation in still another way. He has never had much use for the United Nations, but he has diplomatic manners and French diplomats do not insult even unimportant people for a lark. In this case they found themselves rebuffing Dag Hammarskjold, and when that half-martyred intermediary came to a French roadblock in the Bizerte area, the officer in charge asked: "Who is this?" "The Secretary General of the United Nations," an aide replied, after a paratrooper had started to search the car. Such incidents do not enhance the grandeur of France, which is so much on de Gaulle's mind.

Confusion is now piled on confusion. The ten former French colonies in Africa, independent but closely tied to France through the French Community, are in the worst bind of their short, free existence. Fellow Africans in the Afro-Asian bloc at the U.N. have pressured them to add their signature to the list of fifty needed to petition Hammarskjold for an emergency session on the Bizerte crisis. If they listen to the call of their African brethren, they may lose the financial support of France. On the other hand, the small powers feel that their best friend and hope is the U.N., and now France is cast in the role of the U.N.'s enemy.

None of this was foreseen by Messrs. de Gaulle and Bourguiba when they let matters come to a showdown. Now they would like to talk, but it is difficult to start a sensible conversation when you have just slapped a man in the face. The battlers over Berlin would do well to consider the lesson which, perhaps providentially, current history has set before them.

Hard Work Can Kill Everybody

Sooner or later, Jerry Greene suggests in this issue (see page 71), the Air Force and other "big bang" boys in Washington are likely to take a second look at the President's new "flexible response" military strategy — and when they do, the Pentagon and Congress will be shaken by revolt. If this happens, it may turn out that the country as a whole will support the insurgents. For there is a political weakness in the Kennedy type of military build-up: it relies on manpower. If there is anything that the American family does not view with pleasure, it is the snatching of its breadwinner — or potential Ph.D. — into the Army for prolonged periods. There's no doubt about it, what this country needs is an absolutely 100 per cent automated military force requiring no manpower whatever except for a handful of button-pushers who can wage the next war, when it comes, from the safe vantage point of a control room buried 100 feet underground. With such an Army, we could close up our draft boards, recruiting stations and training camps — and, at the same time, do away with

Summer Schedule

With its next issue, dated Aug. 26, *The Nation* concludes its alternate-week summer schedule. Thereafter *The Nation* will appear weekly, as usual.

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unemployment by keeping factories busy around the clock making missiles, anti-missiles, anti-anti-missiles and anti-anti-anti-missiles. What a happy thought! There we'd be, whizzing away at the highest economic level in our history, our national security assured, and everybody at a work bench instead of in some dreary training trench.

Cynics will point out, of course, that the advantage of an automated nuclear war, which requires no fighters, must be balanced against the disadvantage, which is that in such a war everybody will be a victim. Still, no one can deny that it's pleasanter to be incinerated at an assembly line, while earning $100-plus a week, than on some miserable battlefield, where all you get as a GI is $78 per month.

Man's Best Sea-Going Friend

A press release from Doubleday on the forthcoming *Man and Dolphin* by Dr. John C. Lilly contains this sentence:

> . . . dolphins have the potential of doing such useful things as helping man to track fish, map surface currents, retrieve objects dropped in the water, and even deliver and attach atomic nuclear warheads to seagoing vessels and missiles.

It is difficult not to become misty-eyed at this charming picture of these smiling mammals frisking through the sea on their helpful errands.

Where Are the Horns?

The New York Times, to its great credit, printed on August 1 the entire English translation of the new draft program of the Soviet Communist Party—eight full pages. There are sections in this formidable tome which read as if the words of Marx and Engels had been handed down on the tablets of Zion, never to be reread in the light of subsequent history. This, however, is only the epistemology and eschatology of the faith: the document also contains some tens of thousands of words which will have practical significance for the leaders of nations (Communist, non-Communist and anti-Communist alike), for students of world affairs, and for specialists in various fields. In education, for example, the aim is always to engender "Communist consciousness," but the means toward that end are impeccable and even include echoes of the Judeo-Christian Bible, as: "Conscientious labor for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall he eat." Certainly the zeal for elaborate and expensive educational plant and facilities, and a student body trained in all levels in culture and science, cannot be excelled anywhere.

Politically—and here classical Marxism does get a going over—the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is held not to be eternal and hope is held out for a radical democratization of the Soviet bureaucracy, with, of course, escape clauses for the present holders of top positions. The general tone of the document is constructive and forward-looking. It seems to take cognizance of the fact that with a rise in the general level of education, a certain measure of political sophistication and individual self-assertion is unavoidable. Can it be that there is some hope for mankind after all, and that the ideological gap between East and West is not so hopelessly wide that the cold war must go on forever?

Of course if one's mind is made up that the Soviet leaders and program writers are devils incarnate, there is no need to read what the *Times*, in its usual spirit of respect for its readers, has made available. If one's mind is unalterable, there is no need to read anything. It does appear, however, that the demonization of the Soviet system will not be furthered by the draft program: for the greater part, it seems quite human.

The Golgotha of the Expense Account

Let us eat, drink and make merry not only because tomorrow we die, but because waiters and hat-check girls must live today. This is the burden of the argument being pressed on the Internal Revenue Service and the Congress. The expense-account economy is in jeopardy and the hotel, restaurant and night club owners are making their last stand. Rallying with them are their employees, from the lowliest bus boy to the splendid headwaiter who honors the patrons with a familiar word and a shake of the hand. In our egalitarian society, the interests of the rich and the poor are one.

In many sections, disaster has already struck the entertainment industry. Businessmen are proverbially timid and their normal posture is one of sniffing the wind for impending economic dangers. When the Internal Revenue Service and the House Ways and Means Committee released some publicity intended to induce a reasonable prudence in expense-account living, many businessmen panicked. After taking a prospective customer to the best restaurant in town, the best show and the best night club, the businessman might wake up, sweating, from a nightmare in which he, not the company, paid the check. Everyone knows how anxiety inhibits pleasure. It is impossible to eat or make love while one is terrified, although it may still be possible to drink.

For the entertainment industry, all was lost unless Internal Revenue and the Congress could be persuaded that the good old ways were still the best. The musicians, hotel and restaurant employees (including bartenders) and the variety artists joined in a frantic telegram to the Ways and Means Committee. Its tentative decisions, they cried, threatened a blackout of the nation's already hard-pressed entertainment, hotel and restaurant industries. They laid down a principle to guide the

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committee: "There is nothing immoral or improper in business entertainment for the sole purpose of creating good will." And they appealed to the verdict of history: "It has been the American way in government and business for decades."

Not being organized, the call girls could not join the other entertainers in this manifesto. Other allies, however, may be available. Since the House Un-American Activities Committee is not too busy these days, could it not look into the possibility that the attack on expense-account living is a Red plot, aimed to bring down the free-enterprise economy which has made us what we are today?

Mr. Lawrence Sounds the Tocsin

David Lawrence, publisher of *U.S. News & World Report* and a columnist who is read on the better commuter trains, has come galloping to the rescue of the sorely beleaguered Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Lawrence does not, strangely, attempt to defend the CIA by showing that it performs a valuable service or that its mistakes have been excusable. Instead, he attacks its critics who, he is convinced, are either conscious Soviet agents or dupes taken in by the crusades and campaigns of the Communists. "Just as many a hatchet job has been attempted indirectly by the Communists against J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI," writes Mr. Lawrence in the July 14 New York *Herald Tribune*, "now comes a bombardment of Allen Dulles. . . . An extensive propaganda has been launched that could well attract the attention of either the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. Unhappily, in recent months, both these committees have not been as active as they should be."

Unhappily, also, it will be difficult to sic the committee onto the critics of the CIA, since these include practically all the respectable editorial commentators of the country, with Mr. Lawrence almost the sole exception. The committees, says Mr. Lawrence, should "find out who is financing the spread of literature inside this country attacking this all-important agency." We can partially relieve Mr. Lawrence's tension. The secret patron of *The Nation's* special issue on "The CIA" was the public — the same newsstand patrons to whose tastes and interests *U.S. News & World Report* caters with such diligence. No doubt this answer will dumfound Mr. Lawrence, but let him take a tip from us: publish a good sharp piece about the CIA and watch the newsstand copies disappear.

Moreover, it is very odd that Mr. Lawrence, who finds little that is good in the national scene and who daily attacks the President, Congress, the Supreme Court and other branches of the federal government, should consider political criticism of American faults and failures a help to the Soviets. If it were so, he himself should be the first suspect to be haled before the investigating bodies whose inactivity he deplores.

THE PRESIDENT'S NEW STRATEGY

RETURN to the FOOT SOLDIER . . . *by Jerry Greene*

Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT'S military message was important—but not for the reasons emblazoned in the press headlines. As a call to arms, which is how most newspapers featured it, it was a faint performance; indeed, the President asked for no more of a build-up, considering his campaign utterances, than could have been expected even without a Berlin crisis. The speech's real importance lay in its unveiling of a strategic policy to replace the Dulles concept of maintaining peace through the threat of nuclear war.

Long before his election, Mr. Kennedy and some of his advisers were already in search of an alternative to massive retaliation—"a wider choice," as the President phrased it in his recent speech, "than humiliation or all-out nuclear action." During a four-year stint as Army Chief of Staff, General Maxwell Taylor, now Mr. Kennedy's military representative, was urging the "flexible response," a strengthening of non-nuclear forces with which to oppose Soviet threats of aggression. But General Taylor had been unable to get anywhere with his fellow members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with Congressional committees, or even with his own chief, General Eisenhower, a ground soldier of some note.

Taylor's ideas, spelled out in full in his book, *The Uncertain Trumpet*, did make an impression on Mr. Kennedy, however. And in retrospect, it should surprise no one that when the President elected to bring the General into his official family, he elected also to adopt many of the General's ideas.

Thus the speech reflects a decision to keep the threat of nuclear war as far in the background as possible, and to rely on conventional forces to convince Khrushchev — by the spilling of blood, if necessary—that sincere negotiations are the better part of valor.

THIS DOES NOT mean that the President has in mind fighting a major land war with the Soviet

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Union's 175 divisions in the field and 125 additional divisions in reserve. The truth is that U.S. ground forces have been sadly in need of substantial increases to meet commitments already existing or immediately in sight. Without the Berlin crisis, Mr. Kennedy might have found it difficult in the eyes of the world, and more particularly in the eyes of Congress, to call for a build-up of the Army. Mobilization is a dread word that, in the past, has almost always been followed swiftly by war itself. Even when it doesn't mean war, it represents a disturbing factor affecting the labor market and the country's economy in general, aside from imposing a thousand tragedies upon families from coast to coast.

The Berlin situation, then, gave the President a chance to do what he and his most trusted advisers have long thought needed to be done. So far there has been wholehearted support, both from the American people and from Congress, for the switch in national strategy from massive retaliation to "flexible response"; and the way has been paved for obtaining both the men and the money which Taylor and other generals for years have said were essential for creation of forces sufficient to give the country a "wider choice."

The President's proposals do represent a reversal of the defense program on a number of points; but in the light of the "crisis," such anomalies will trouble no one. Less than a month ago, for example, Defense Department civilian witnesses were telling Congressional committees that the Army did not need, and could not have, more than 875,000 men. Now the Army will be getting 1,008,000. For some years, the Army has been insisting that it needed at least $2.5 billion a year for five years to modernize its forces; since January, and including the latest "crisis" total, the President has added about $1 billion to the fiscal 1962 Army procurement fund recommended by Eisenhower—and the amount today stands at just about $2.5 billion.

Congressional action was united and swift in approving the President's proposals. But there remain serious doubts in the minds of many Congressmen and other observers, and these doubts will be raised publicly the moment the Berlin griddle cools (as most people in Washington expect, and all hope). To these observers, the "flexible response" concept and another conventional "little war" in Europe raise the specter of another Korea, where many died and nothing was changed.

More specifically, if the strengthening of the Army means an eventual cut-back in the Air Force, if the air-power advocates—and there are many in Congress—spot a tendency to downgrade the "big bang," there will emerge a domestic political row the like of which the country hasn't seen since the Navy, in 1949, sought to wreck the B-36 bomber program with the Revolt of the Admirals.

Behrendt-Algemeen Handlesblad

Serious Tootache

And there are many in the Pentagon and in Congress who are quietly convinced that the "flexible response" concept makes things easier for Khrushchev, giving him more room for maneuver. These military students, while willing to back the President in time of crisis, are unshaken in their belief that the only thing capable of holding Khrushchev in line is the threat of atomic war.

The President, in many ways, will be walking a finer wire even than Dulles did with his "brink of war" approach to the Russians. It will take a lot of money to maintain strategic power and build up the Army to "flexible" proportions. Military budgets of $50 billion a year are just around the corner—and they won't be paid for by an increase in postal rates or a crackdown on expense-account tax deductions.

The Railroads' Shady Competitors . . *by Juan Cameron*

THE RAILROAD system of the country reached its peak as a carrier of people and goods in the 1920s. Since then it has seen its relative position sink under the competition from newer, cheaper and more flexible forms of transportation. Today, nine out of ten people who travel long distances between cities go by automobile. And outstripped already by the airplane as a public carrier, the long-haul passenger train is now in danger of falling into third position, behind the bus. Since World War II, the railroads' share of freight traffic has slipped from 65 to 46 per cent—a development graver than the loss of passengers.

Although its slice of the transportation pie has been growing smaller for forty years, rail transport—periods of business decline aside—was moving a larger absolute total of freight each year until 1956. The rising total volume of freight was sufficient to keep the industry reasonably strong, despite passenger operating losses of some $650 million annually in the decade of the 1950s.

In 1956, however, there appeared an ominous downward drift in the absolute amount of freight carried

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and freight revenue earned. The decline since, as measured in a 1961 staff report to the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, appears to have settled down to a rate of 3 per cent annually. If this trend continues, the staff report found, nationalization of the railroads will be inevitable by 1975.

Signs of the decline are to be seen everywhere in the industry (it comprises some 780 companies, but is dominated by about forty). Dilapidated, trash-strewn freight yards and passenger terminals with paint peeling from the walls and ceilings are outward symbols of the industry's condition. Twenty railroads since World War II have discontinued all passenger service. In the past two years alone 145 passenger trains have been dropped. A severe contraction has taken place in railroad employment, partly from service cutbacks, partly because of automation and other technical changes. Some 1,221,000 men and women worked on the railroads in 1950; today the number is below 800,000. To hedge against the bleak job future facing their members, the railroad brotherhoods are pressing for shorter workweeks, overtime and night-work premiums to spread work and increase pay.

A handful of railroads in the South, Southwest and West—the Union Pacific, Santa Fe, Southern Pacific, Norfolk & Western, Southern, Northern Pacific—are prospering; but the industry's over-all financial picture is not good. Return on railroad investment hit a twenty-year low in the year ending June, 1960. And although the passenger deficit has declined to below $500 million, the lowest since 1947, railroad net profits dropped from $603 million in 1958 to an estimated $445 million in 1960. During the first quarter of the present year the industry showed a total net loss of $13 million. Such statistics have a profound effect on the big banks, insurance companies and investment houses that must furnish the credit for railroad modernization.

THE railroads' sickness, if based on loss of freight, raises the question of why, and to whom, this business has been slipping away. There's no shortage of freight: in the past fourteen years, the volume has increased by approximately one-third.

The answer lies in the phenomenal increase since 1940 of transportation that is moving without any form of regulation, in growth stimulated by technical advances, in changing trends of commerce, in the spur of federal road building. The rise of private transportation and the rest of the unregulated segment of freight movement is the chief problem of the railroad industry.

In the past twenty years, private or do-it-yourself transportation has absorbed one-third of all inter-city ton-miles of freight, some taken from public truckers but much more from the railroads. Add to this figure the farm produce and bulk commodities exempted from federal regulation and one finds that one-half of all inter-city freight transportation moves totally free from rate regulation.

THE private shipper is a new force. Tired of rising freight rates and declining service, corporations are deserting the public carriers and hauling their own goods, from lumber and textiles to oil products and machinery. One company, Socony Mobil Oil, for instance, has more than $300 million invested in its own transportation system. It owns and operates rail cars, airplanes, pipelines, ships and barges in addition to some 4,500 tank trucks. J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., a textile company employing some 30,000 men and women in the Southeastern, Middle Atlantic and New England states, depends heavily on its private fleet of trucks to move raw materials, fabrics, even machinery between its mills that operate around the clock five days a week. A food company, Standard Brands, Inc., set up its own transportation business after World War II, when it found that it had enough foodstuffs moving between terminals to provide continuous two-way shuttling. As the chairman of the ICC commented not long ago: "When a shipper has lost his heart to private carriage, it is difficult indeed to win him back."

A Socony official says that before World War II some 70 per cent of the company's shipments of lubricating oil, batteries and tires moved by rail. Now all but a small part moves in its own trucks. "Our fleets exist because we haven't been able to achieve the degree of flexibility and control needed for distribution to the retail trade with hired transportation." J. P. Stevens says the location of some of its newer Southern plants impelled it to provide its own transportation.

Unregulated transportation does not end with private carriage. Farm products, which once moved largely by rail, have steadily deserted to trucks; and these loads, under the Motor Carrier Act of 1935, are exempt from rate regulation. One million freight cars of fresh fruits and vegetables were hauled annually by railroads in 1946. Today the volume is about half that. Almost all cattle, hogs and poultry come to city markets by truck. Iron ore, coal, sand and gravel, formerly bread-and-butter bulk items of the railroads, have been siphoned off by barge lines under a provision (section 303) of the Interstate Commerce Act that exempts bulk commodities from rate regulation when the vessel or tow contains no more than three such commodities.

WITH the great surge of private and other exempt transportation since World War II, there has grown up a complex of abuses known in transportation circles as the "gray area." To avoid empty backloads private shippers, sometimes using phony shipping associations or agricultural "cooperatives" as fronts, are hauling scrap steel from Connecticut to Pittsburgh, aluminum articles from Philadelphia to the South, beer from Cleveland to New York, canned fruit from Washington to California. In order to get around ICC rate regulation, "gray area" operators also engage in fictitious "buy and sell" operations. For example, a Texas wholesale grocer, to avoid an empty backhaul from a New Orleans warehouse, will purchase sugar from a Louisiana refiner. Carrying it back to Texas, he sells the sugar for the purchase price plus transportation. Other private shippers resort to leasing their trucks and drivers to another shipper, who then qualifies as

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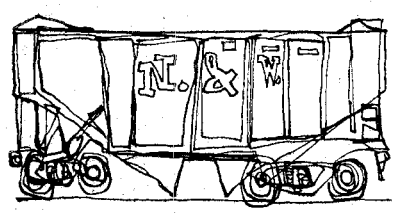
a private carrier. The ICC found in a 1960 study that these practices, in addition to unlawful transportation that resorts to false invoices and doctored truck registrations, are disrupting rate schedules and disturbing the whole system of public transportation. In Nashville alone, the ICC estimates that "gray area" operators divert several million dollars of freight revenues annually from public truck and rail carriers.

Mr. A. G. Anderson, the general traffic manager of Socony, not long ago said: "There is only one way to halt the trend to private carriage. That is for regulatory agencies to give for-hire carriers the green light to create new ways of attracting traffic, and for these carriers to undertake the services private carriers now perform, at prices which will make private carriage uneconomical."

When the ICC was set up 74 years ago, one of its goals was to halt the railroads from gouging the farmers or discriminating against small shippers through exorbitant rates. But with their monopoly of land transportation gone, the railroads now find that protests come, not from



rate hikes, but to forestall rate cuts. In 1946, the ICC heard complaints in 500 rate-reduction cases; by 1959 the number had risen to 5,471, the protests coming in about 90 per cent of the cases not from shippers, but from competing carriers.

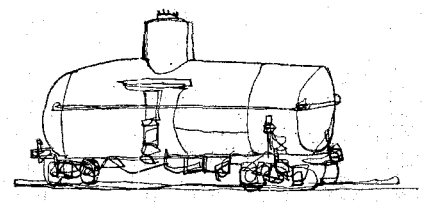
SOME railroad executives, like the young, vigorous chairman of the Chicago & North Western, Ben W. Heineman, say that the ICC should be stripped of its right to set minimum rates. ICC Chairman Hutchinson rejects such suggestions, stating that "without rate regulation you would have chaos. Destructive competition must be prevented. If it isn't, the various modes would be weakened to the point where there would be none left to compete." Instead, the regulatory agency is trying to get more coordination among public carriers, railroads, trucks, pipelines, air and water carriers. The railroads complain that it is unrealistic to expect keenly competitive carriers like railroads and truckers to join hands when one is apt to be "short-hauled" in the process.

The trucking industry and its International Brotherhood of Teamsters is as stiff-necked about ICC attempts to foster coordination as are the railroad men. The rapid growth of piggybacking—where a highway truck trailer is carried part of its journey on a railroad flatcar—has brought a storm of protest from Hoffa's union. The expansion of piggybacking from 168,000 carloads in 1955 to 554,000 last year, the Teamsters say, has cost them 20,000 drivers in two years. And the railroads' success with two- and three-level auto-carrying flatcars (they may haul 25 per cent of new auto production this year as opposed to 10 per cent in 1958) has cost 5,000 Teamster jobs in the past six months, the truck drivers say.

Hoffa's union picketed the ICC regional office in Kansas City last winter; has flooded Congress with millions of letters protesting the lower rail rates granted piggyback freight, and has wrung an agreement from Midwest truck lines to pay the Teamsters $5 for every trailer they load on a railroad flatcar. Mysterious persons along the tracks are reported to be hurling rocks at windshields and acid at the bodies of vehicles on the flatcars as they roll by.

The railroad brotherhoods have started their own letter-writing campaign to counter that of the Teamsters; at the same time, they are applying political pressure against a second industry move to adjust to changing conditions. Rail labor is exhorting the ICC, via the White House and Congress, to slow down railroad mergers on the ground that some 200,000 jobs may be lost if the rash of consolidations now being discussed goes through.

CERTAINLY mergers are the most dramatic development within the railroad industry today. In the East, the Chesapeake & Ohio defeated the New York Central in a tough proxy duel to win 61 per cent of the Baltimore & Ohio's stock. In the South, the Seaboard Air Line and Atlantic Coast Line have started to merge; the Southern has moved to acquire the Central of Georgia. In the West, the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe are grappling for control of the Western Pacific. And in a move to form the 27,728-mile system that was prohibited by the United States Supreme Court in 1904 (*Northern Securities v. U.S.*), the Great Northern, Northern Pacific and Chicago, Burlington and Quincy today are



seeking ICC and stockholder approval for merger.

The savings possible from consolidation are great. The Norfolk & Western-Virginian merger will enable the combined roads to operate, they claim, with an estimated 1,800 fewer freight cars, 22 fewer locomotives and 1,200 to 1,500 fewer employees. Annual savings after three years are projected at $12,000,000. The Great Northern-Northern Pacific-Burlington merger will produce savings, its backers say, of $43,000,000.

THE rail brotherhood opposition to such mergers is beginning to show in ICC policy. After announcing it "welcomed" merger proposals, the ICC is now expected to delay action on pending mergers for as long as two years. Last winter, ICC Chairman Hutchinson was adamant that his agency should not draw up any master plan to insure that a balanced and unified national rail system would emerge from the consolidations: "As we have learned in the 1920s and 1930s, merger plans are like concocting dog food that nobody wants to eat. I don't feel any over-all plan is needed today."

Recently, however, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that Hutchinson's agency is now undertaking studies to determine which railroads should merge with which. Assistant Majority Leader Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Chairman Warren Magnuson of the Interstate and

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Foreign Commerce Committee have agreed on a resolution that rebuked the railroad regulatory commission for encouraging mergers "on any basis, however fragmentary, and without regard for their effect on the long-range transportation needs of the nation," and urged the commission to "act with extremest caution and full deliberation."

Since regulation of the railroad industry is so comprehensive, so rigid, the Interstate Commerce Commission will have the main responsibility —along with Congress—for determining the future of railroads. The agency has not shown much initiative in the past. In an era when the railroad was king, and the for-hire trucker dominated the highways, the ICC's role as an honest broker between the warring factions—a negative theory of regulation—was perhaps sufficient. Today, with half the nation's inter-city commerce moving free of any regulation, the ICC's role must change drastically. And the change will be shaped by political forces acting on Congress.

In Congress the attitude often appears to be that the railroads are chronic complainers who have cried "wolf" so often that no one need pay them heed. Yet the public appears to have sensed that something drastic must be done.

The Chicago & North Western's Heineman makes a strong case for the public's interest in his troubled industry: "Except for certain types of river traffic and oil pipelines, I believe that railroads can outcompete any form of transportation. Nobody sees the kind of railroads we could run because they're so accustomed to seeing the industry operate as it does today. Artificial disabilities are taken for granted. I only hope we don't have to go broke before the public and Congress understand this."

THE MILITANT LATIN CAMPUS . . *by Robert D. Barton*

NOWHERE in the world are students more intensely involved in politics than in Latin America. (Characteristically, most of the demonstrators for and against Adlai Stevenson, during the Ambassador's recent tour, came from local campuses.) Indeed, one can argue plausibly that students' political action in Japan, Korea, Turkey and elsewhere, in late years, stems ultimately from examples first set in Caracas, Mexico City and other Latin capitals.

Some of the reasons for the Latin American student's lively interest in politics are peculiar to the region and its institutions; others, given the nature of youth, have practically global applications. It is my purpose to examine the Latin American student movement in the light of the forces which have shaped it and of its significance to U.S.-Latin American relations.

While traveling in Latin America, I have spoken with many Ministers of Education, with rectors (presidents) of universities, and with a vast number of students. One such conversation, on the campus of the University of Panama, was with a gaunt, ill-dressed, thirty-year-old distributor of anti-government leaflets —a third-year law student who, though he worked days and studied nights, still found time to support a student march against the Canal Zone and the U.S. Embassy.

Another talk took place in the old, colonnaded building housing Guatemala's Law School. A cluster of students were standing around the bulletin board. I moved closer, expecting to see on the board only typical class notices and lost-and-found advertisements. Instead, I found a well-written, neatly-typed student manifesto exhorting the students to help "recover" British Honduras for Guatemala. Other notices were in the same political vein.

The rector of a small Catholic university in Mexico confided that his institution had been established several years ago primarily to counteract Communist infiltration in the National University. "The students over there," he said, pointing towards the modernistic buildings with their ceramic mosaics, "spend more time on doctrine and ideology than on their homework."

WHERE students are propagandists, where bulletin-board notices turn out to be political manifestoes, where the study of doctrine is replacing homework, and where an army tank substitutes for the statue of alma mater, the most important individual on campus is neither the athlete nor the scholastic wizard, but the leader of the university students' association. Competitive, eager, ambitious and, above all, articulate, these leaders, in many Latin American countries, can wield greater influence on the university than its rector. From this powerful position, the step into national politics is short and easy. Let me illustrate.

In 1945, an outstanding student and athlete graduated from a Jesuit secondary school. At the national university, he became active in student affairs and in 1947 joined a clandestine expeditionary force against a neighboring dictator. The amphibious invasion was a failure, but this man survived. Returning to the campus, he was supported by the Communists for a student government post. Once elected, he disavowed the Communists. Their hostility led to open conflict; while waiting for tempers to cool, he attended a student congress in Bogotá which coincided with the meeting of foreign ministers of the Pan-American Union. A Communist-led riot disrupted both meetings. He became involved in the street fighting, was arrested, but managed to flee the country. Once again he resumed his studies and despite all his "extracurricular activities," he graduated with his class in 1950. He married,

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practiced law, and soon was campaigning for a left-wing Presidential candidate. The election never took place; instead, a *coup d'état* returned a former dictator to the Presidential palace. Nine days later, the former student, guerrilla fighter and lawyer filed a brief demanding that the Court of Constitutional Guarantees declare unconstitutional the dictator's assumption of power. The court timidly returned a verdict in favor of the dictator, but the people rallied around the young lawyer. From that day on he determined there was but one way to settle the issue: revolution! That young student was Fidel Castro.

FROM this brief account of Castro's student days several reasons why Latin American students become involved in politics become apparent. First, there is much to be done to improve their countries' social, economic and political situations. Second, the students are close to these problems: the universities are usually located in downtown areas of the capital cities, and most students are also workers who come from lower- or middle-class families; they are directly affected by new legislation being discussed in the Capitol. Third, the structure of the university itself allows them the opportunity and time to participate in politics. Latin American universities are usually co-governed by students and faculty. The vast majority of students, simple and hard-working youngsters who see the university as a method of advancing economically and socially, join the student organization because it is part of the university system. Their participation is active only when strong leaders have convinced them that they are needed. When political parties have infiltrated the student organizations, these rank-and-file students may be maneuvered or coerced into irresponsible action.

Frequently, action is needed. Socially oligarchic by tradition, economically dependent on the exports of a single commodity and politically controlled by the merest fraction of the population, the Latin American republics are continuously beset with overwhelming problems. The students, often correctly, attribute many of their countries' shortcomings to the demagoguery of government officials combined with abysmal ignorance of elementary public administration on the part of bureaucratic staffs. Too often Latin American Presidents and Congresses do not see eye to eye on basic issues. Latin American political parties revolve around three magnetic ideologies: the traditional conservative, the Marxist revolutionary and the liberal democratic. When a strong President and a split Congress conflict, dictatorship results: the government's legislative and judicial branches become ineffectual, newspapers are censored and a vacuum of public opinion is created. University students rush to fill the void, feeling they must take the initiative to safeguard the public interest. Being extremely nationalistic, definitely leftist, and determindedly democratic in their desire to improve the general lot of the people, students lean toward the liberal or Marxist philosophy. To safeguard the national interest, their action usually is direct and violent.

BOTH their involvement and the effectiveness of their political action may be attributed in great measure to the fact that the principal university buildings in most Latin American countries are located in the very center of the capital.

In a few countries, the national universities have been moved to handsome "university cities" complete with gyms, athletic fields, social halls, infirmaries and cafeterias; but the great majority of universities in Latin America offer little in the way of campus social life such as is enjoyed in the United States.

Many of the students work a full eight-hour day, and in some countries class schedules are arranged to conform to their free hours. Classes begin early in the morning and end by 9:30 A.M., to be resumed in the late afternoon. Admission is unrestricted; tuition is minimal. Once a student has received his bachelor's or secondary-school degree, he can enter directly into *facultades*, where the traditional professions are taught: medicine, law and teaching. Only recently have the sciences, economics, agronomy and business administration been added. From the day they matriculate to the day they graduate, the students are on their own. Class attendance is not compulsory. Lectures are the only system of instruction and notes from the previous year are easily procurable. The curriculum is standard and allows for few electives. Student advisers do not exist. Professors are seldom on the job full time, since they must supplement their meager salaries with outside work. They are too busy to establish any rapport with the students.

Under such circumstances, the student spends little time on the university premises. With no dormitories, campus cafeterias, research facilities or extra-curricular activities to speak of, the students emerge from their evening classes to settle at a sidewalk cafe for an inexpensive cup of *espresso*, a glass of *vino tinto* or a beer. There, those who were absent join them to learn the subject of the day's lecture. Their discussion, over *cafecitos* and black tobacco cigarettes, may range from the personality of the professor to the administration of the university, and hence (there is often a close connection) to the political situation of the government itself.

Exposed to such café cliques, Latin American students sometimes develop a precocious attitude towards their responsibilities, especially those of a political nature. Nevertheless, intellectual alertness does not automatically guarantee political maturity. Since they receive no guidance from their professors or from student advisers, many are easily gulled into youthful radicalism. They become the supporters of upperclassmen who are more alert and responsible — or more ambitious and self-seeking. They may be called out, as was recently the case in Peru, to support a strike in favor of raising the national contribution to the university's budget so the professors could receive better wages; or conversely, go out on strike, as happened in Guatemala, because the university was going to increase the tuition of $150 a year by 10 per cent.

Co-government by representatives of the faculty and of the student

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body began with the so-called University Reform Movement of 1918. Students at the University of Cordoba in Central Argentina that year demanded that the university administration be improved by allowing students to participate in governing councils.

Instruction had become extremely sketchy and students demanded regulations which would keep the professors on their mark. They also agitated for scholarship help for poor students, for the elimination of tuition fees and optional attendance at classes. When their demands were denied, they picketed the university. The rector was adamant, so the issue was taken to the Capitol in Buenos Aires for debate. Meanwhile, students of the other national universities walked out in a sympathy strike. Finally a special congressional commission recognized the students' demands. It limited the tenure of the rector and professors allowed students to sit on the university's administrative council and eliminated compulsory attendance so that students who had to work during the day could, by reading lecture notes and textbooks, receive their degrees after successfully passing examinations at the end of each course.

News of the success of these strikes swept across most of Latin America, and changed the entire structure of its universities. In the process, it convinced the students that they could play a dominant role in national politics.

THE POLITICAL role of the student body is usually determined by the character and attitudes of their leaders. Some are "professional students" who attend no classes. They register at the beginning of the year, but they toil not, neither do they pass their final exams. Supported, however, by national political parties, they can persuade a considerable portion of the student body to elect them to the university council. Venezuela is the nation most plagued with this type of student agitator, as became apparent when Nixon visited Caracas.

The editor of the Houston *Post* recently reported that, while visiting Venezuela, he came across a university professor who had been forced by threat of a student strike to resign because he was pro-American. The editor noted that "the campaign [against the professor] was led by a thirty-eight-year-old 'student' who has been attending the university for eight years." By now, Mexico, Panama and Peru have all taken steps to curb influence of this sort. There, students may miss no more than 30 per cent of their classes and they are allowed to fail exams only a limited number of times on pain of permanent expulsion.

Leaders of the political opposition often try to plant political cells in student organizations. A student leader from Bolivia told me how in 1952 a group in control of the Bolivian University Confederation issued a manifesto so derivative of Communist doctrine that the confederation was about to be expelled from the democratic International Student Conference. The student body became aware of what was going on and recovered control, but the organization was held suspect by Bolivian politicians for many months.

Unfortunately, the loose organization of a Latin American university allows subversive political parties to infiltrate undisturbed. Of course, when the student body becomes too much of a threat to a government, the government can—and not infrequently does — close down the university. Sometimes the university students themselves will stage a protest strike against the government, and this may be followed by a "lockout" by university or government officials. Castro added a new twist last year when he found his alma mater was not supporting his revolution enthusiastically enough. He pulled his coup by naming Major Rolando Cubela, a guerrilla soldier from his revolutionary days, to the presidency of the student body. Cubela then had the Havana University Student Federation request Rector Clemente Inclan and the entire faculty to resign. The "student council" took over the governing of the university and recruited pro-Castro professors from abroad to replace those who would not capitulate.

None of this is meant to imply that most Latin American student leaders are merely the stooges of their organized political elders. On the contrary, the great majority display vigorous independence, if not always good judgment; if they are captives of anything, it is of ideals and not of ideologies. The majority of student leaders are as involved in campus welfare activities as they are in the larger political issues of the country. But most of them are a strange amalgam of opposites: intellectually able, they are also hot-blooded; idealistic, they are also cynical; raised as Catholics, they distrust the reactionary leadership of the Church; with faith in their own infallibility, they are ready to take over the reins of government. And, of course, because they represent so small an intellectual elite — only a minute fraction of Latin American families can afford to send a son to a university — they take all the more seriously their role as shapers of the country's destiny.

WHAT IS the political program of these students? What do they believe in?

On domestic issues they advocate quicker economic development of their countries; they seek land reform and wider diversification of the economy. They advocate the establishment of a Latin American common market with the abolition of all customs barriers, as measures which will speed up industrialization. Many students believe that industrialization sponsored by U. S. capital is a form of economic imperialism and they feel as bitter about this as they do about U. S. tolerance of Latin American dictators who protected American investments from taxation needed for economic and social reforms.

This inimical attitude towards the United States is not new of course, but it has been heightened by the growing pro-Castro sentiment to be found on Latin American campuses. Professor Elliot A. Marcus, polling 350 university students while lecturing at the University of Chile, found that more than 80 per cent believed even before the invasion that we had intervened in the internal affairs of Cuba. About the same percentage felt that Chile

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should open diplomatic relations with Red China. Most of the students considered U. S. "propaganda" about the Communists to be unreliable. Even more devastating, only 12 per cent believed that the "free world" is winning the cold war. Nearly 44 per cent believed the Communist bloc was ahead; the rest considered the race a tie.

Throughout Latin America, university students look upon themselves as guardians of democracy. This is their role, and troublesome as it sometimes seems, it is an honorable one. A Brazilian diplomat told me: "Students form the fourth power in Latin American politics. They seem to you to be in opposition to all authority, but that is probably a good thing in Latin America, where the Church, state and army have so often dictated policy. Don't measure our students by U. S. standards; they're completely different from your students, because their circumstances are so different."

This is a simple truth which we in the United States seem to have great difficulty in accepting.

TWO DECADES OF SIT-INS

EVOLUTION OF NON-VIOLENCE . . *by Carleton Mabee*

THE NON-VIOLENT movement for desegregation was born during World War II. The war created tensions which were sometimes transferred — often unconsciously — to hatred of minorities. At the same time, the Negroes' awareness of their second-class citizenship was heightened by the contrast between Jim Crow and the professed American war aim of opposition to the Nazi race theory. There was uneasiness in war plants, where white and colored often worked side by side for the first time.

In this situation, pacifists, once they had lost their effort to prevent United States entry into the war, decided to emphasize the development of non-violent techniques to improve race relations. As they proceeded, they consciously learned from Gandhi, whose non-violent movement for the independence of India was then reaching its climax.

As early as April, 1942, the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation's Youth Secretary, Bayard Rustin, a young Negro of compelling charm, was trying one-man sit-ins. He believed that American Negroes were peculiarly fitted to experiment with non-violent action, he said, because they not only had a history of enduring suffering without bitterness, but also a rich religious heritage of which non-violence was a part.

When Rustin went into a restaurant in a small Midwestern town, the manager refused to serve him, because, she explained, if she did, "everybody would walk out." Rustin proposed that they try an experiment: he would sit at a table with a hamburger in front of him, and they both would watch for ten minutes to see if anyone walked out because he was there. If anyone did, Rustin would also walk out. After some hesitation, the manager agreed to try the experiment. Rustin waited the ten minutes without anyone's walking out, and then the manager served him a hot hamburger. Thereafter the restaurant continued to serve Negroes.

Rustin found other opportunities to refuse to cooperate with segregation. On a bus near Nashville, he sat up front with whites, was dragged out of the bus and kicked, but did not retaliate. Attending a Quaker conference at Cape May, N.J., he appeared with white friends one afternoon at a "whites only" section of a beach. When guards asked him to go elsewhere, he expressed concern for the difficult position of the guards. He explained that it was against his principles to acquiesce in segregation and therefore he could not willingly leave, but suggested various humorous ways by which they could remove him. The guards were so taken aback that they left him alone; during the rest of the conference, Rustin and his friends continued to use the beach. When he arrived late one rainy night by train in Baltimore, Rustin found that the taxi drivers at the station refused to pick him up because of his color. He walked into the middle of the narrow taxi driveway alongside the station, and stood there, blocking all taxi traffic for ninety minutes, until he got a taxi.

During 1942 Rustin described his one-man sit-ins, ride-ins, swim-ins and stand-ins to many audiences, and thus prepared the way for the organized non-violent movement.

IN February, 1942, James Farmer, the young Race Relations Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, proposed to the Fellowship that it attempt to create an organization, composed of both pacifists and non-pacifists, committed to non-violent action against racial discrimination. It was hoped that, after a period of five to ten years of education and experiment, the organization would be ready to use on a large scale "relentless non-cooperation, economic boycott, [and] civil disobedience." In April, 1942, the Fellowship's National Council decided to endorse such a campaign, and authorized Farmer to work on it. The decision was soon to bear fruit.

Meanwhile, among the several Fellowship of Reconciliation "cell" groups in Chicago, one, composed largely of University of Chicago students, was devoted to race relations. One evening two members of this group — Farmer, who is colored, and

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James Robinson, white —went into Jack Spratt's, a restaurant in their neighborhood. They were served reluctantly. Later, a larger interracial party from the same "cell" also went into the restaurant. They were also served reluctantly; and after they had eaten, their waiter refused to give them a bill. They left money in payment, but the waiter followed them into the street to throw the money after them.

By this time the group working on Jack Spratt's had grown to include several non-students and non-pacifists. The enlarged group deliberately planned a non-violent demonstration, patterned on a combination of Gandhian methods and the methods of the 1936-7 "sit-down strikes" in auto factories (the sitters first called their demonstrations "sit-down strikes"), in an attempt to change the restaurant's policy.

ONE DAY in May, 1942, the group sent an all-white party into Jack Spratt's, and it was served; then a mixed party went in, and was seated; finally, an all-Negro party entered. The hostess told the all-Negro group it would not be seated except in the basement, but the group refused to leave. The hostess called the police who, upon finding only a quiet group of people waiting to be served, refused to arrest anyone. Patrons in the restaurant who were not part of the sit-in became curious about it and stayed on, occupying seats, thus in effect helping the cause. After two hours in which business in the restaurant was almost at a standstill, the management decided to change its policy, and the hostess personally served the waiting Negroes.

Deciding that they had found a technique that worked, the sitters led in forming, in June, 1942, the Chicago Committee on Racial Equality to experiment further with non-violent direct action. The following year the committee, with the help of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, led in creating a national federation of groups devoted to non-violent, direct action, called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) which chose Farmer as its chairman. The major vehicle of the non-violent movement of the 1940s had been created.

During most of the decade, CORE remained a loose federation of local groups, without a paid national staff. Its leaders were generally young, and among them were both colored and white. Aside from Farmer (a graduate of the School of Religion of Howard University, who later became Program Director of the NAACP, but who this year returned to CORE as National Director), the leaders included George Houser, an ordained Methodist minister who later became Executive Secretary of the American Committee on Africa; and Bayard Rustin, who recently has been active in working with the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the War Resisters League.

In its early years, CORE's leaders — national and local — were generally pacifists, but this was not true of the rank and file. Some CORE leaders had been conscientious objectors during World War II. Officially, CORE was neutral on pacifism, but much of its non-violent emphasis was nourished by the pacifists in its membership.

At first, CORE's national office was in a church in Chicago; from 1944 it shared offices with the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Cleveland; and from 1946 it shared the Fellowship's national office in New York. CORE's unpaid Executive Director, for most of the decade, was George Houser, whose paid occupation was that of a staff member of the Fellowship. There was some friction within CORE over whether the identification of CORE with the pacifist Fellowship scared non-pacifists away.

CORE was an interracial, urban movement, centered in the North, with only a few member groups south of the Mason-Dixon Line at any time during the 1940s, and these all in the upper South — in Baltimore, Washington, St. Louis and Bartlesville, Oklahoma (where, under pressure from "patriotic" societies, the leader of the CORE group was eventually forced from the library post which she had held for thirty-five years). The number of local groups affiliated with CORE was ten in 1945, thirteen in 1947, fifteen in 1949 and twenty in 1950; and there was usually a number of co-operating non-affiliated groups. Most of the affiliates tended to be unstable, flourishing briefly, dying down, then re-forming. They were likely to be small, with perhaps fifteen to a hundred members, an exception being the affiliate in Columbus — the Vanguard League — which had 2,000 to 3,000 members.

NOT ALL of the activities of CORE and CORE-related groups were carried out along strictly non-violent, direct-action lines. Some activities followed conventional patterns, and in these CORE was often able to work with other organizations. CORE encouraged letter-writing campaigns to government officials or owners of businesses; petitions (as in Washington, D.C., to protest segregation in the public parks); and publicity by press releases. (In Denver, after a Negro was refused a room at a YMCA on Christmas Day with the explanation that there was no room available, a CORE press release drew a parallel with what happened, a long time ago, at another inn at Christmas time.)

Some activities were less conventional, and in these it was harder to find cooperating organizations. When the "Freedom Train" was circulating the country to exhibit copies of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, CORE groups picketed it with signs saying, "There is no freedom till all are free."

CORE groups conducted opinion surveys to find out if department store patrons objected to being served by Negro sales clerks (in Cleveland, where department stores employed only white sales clerks, 68 per cent of patrons were willing to be served by Negroes); listed restaurants, outside of Negro sections, which had no racial bars (in Washington, sitters could recall when there were only four such restaurants; by 1950, there were still only seventeen they could list); printed cards for CORE friends to leave on the tables of desegregated restaurants expressing appreciation of their policy; solicited business for newly desegregated enterprises; bought stock in companies which practiced segregation — like the Greyhound bus company — and then appeared

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at stockholders' meetings to protest company policy; distributed leaflets at Pennsylvania Station in New York and the interstate bus terminal in Washington, informing passengers that in interstate travel, despite custom, the Supreme Court had ruled in the *Morgan* case in 1946 that segregation was unconstitutional; and promoted a song that urged interstate travelers to sit where they liked:

> And if the driver-man says "Move,"
> And if the driver-man says "Move,"
> And if the driver-man says "Move,"
> Speak up polite,
> But sit there tight,
> You're in the right,
> You don't have to ride Jim Crow.

BUT IT was in the more clearly non-violent, direct-action projects that the CORE and CORE-related groups found their real métier. They adapted Gandhian methods imaginatively to the American scene, developing the techniques which sitters and freedom riders have made well known in the last few years.

Sitters in the 1940s, as now, found eating places their most convenient target. As early as 1944, the CORE group in Washington, D.C., decided that dime-store lunch counters were excellent places to hold "sit-down strikes" — and for some of the same reasons that present-day sitters also find them so: "Because there is a good deal of Negro trade in these stores," they explained and "also because colored people are served at the present time standing up at the [lunch] counter." But they did not at that time discover that the dime stores were also a good choice because sympathy boycotts might spread against chain dime stores all over the nation; that idea would not catch hold while the non-violent movement remained small.

In the 1940s, CORE groups also held sit-ins at fancy restaurants, like the "plush and hush" restaurant in Los Angeles where a hundred persons at a time "sat-in." Sit-ins were held in a Negro-owned restaurant in Washington which discriminated against whites; at drug-store lunch counters and in department-store restaurants.

In addition to eating places, there were also sit-ins in churches, as in Frankfort, Kentucky, and Bartlesville; in theatres, as in Yellow Springs, Ohio, and Baltimore; in swimming pools, as in Palisades Park, N.J., and Cleveland; in roller-skating rinks, as in Chicago; and in the religious services of prisons, as by the conscientious-objector inmates of the federal prison in Ashland, Kentucky.

Other planned forms of non-violent, direct action included stand-ins to buy tickets at discriminatory theatres, as in Washington, D.C., or at discriminatory swimming pools, as in Los Angeles, or to buy food at discriminatory cafeterias, as in Detroit; the picketing of segregated YMCAs, as in New York, and offices which promoted restrictive covenants for real estate, as in Chicago; small-scale boycotts, as of a tavern in Yellow Springs (it lost 60 per cent of its business), or metropolitan-wide boycotts protesting discrimination against Negro employment, as of Carnation milk in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and of Wonder bread in Chicago (both these actions were successful in changing company policy); testing for hotel discrimination in Boston; hunger or work strikes against segregated dining in prisons, as by conscientious-objector inmates of the federal prisons at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and Danbury, Connecticut; sitting desegregated on buses and trains, as on a long "Journey of Reconciliation" through Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee in 1947, for which Rustin and three others were sentenced to thirty days in a North Carolina road gang on the charge of disobeying state segregation laws. (Among the riders on this trip was Jim Peck, one of CORE's recent "Freedom Riders," who was severely beaten in Alabama last May.) CORE tested the interracial use of parks which by custom had become segregated, as in Chicago; and set up new enterprises, such as unsegregated barber shops in Oberlin, Ohio, and State College, Pennsylvania, interracial cooperative houses in Chicago and Detroit, and an interracial cooperative store in Detroit.

ALL THIS activity by CORE and its friends naturally stimulated opposition. According to the demonstrators' reports, if they were served food at all, they sometimes were served ants in their pie, sour cream for their coffee, or garbage in their sandwiches; sometimes they were charged higher prices; sometimes employees tried to break the "polluted" dishes from which they had eaten. Occasionally, when demonstrators arrived, managers would close their businesses; or, especially if their businesses were swimming pools or roller-skating rinks, would pretend they were running a private club. Sometimes employees or onlookers kicked demonstrators, pushed them out of line in front of theatre ticket windows, shoved them against glass windows in swimming pools till the windows broke, hounded them with ammonia fumes, had them arrested, beat them, played fire hoses on them — or, as the demonstrators went limp, dragged them away.

Disaster

What will happen, you may ask,
In a state where states' rights are of more concern
than human rights,
When the very last cell in the very last jail
Is full, and there is an SRO sign over the door?
What will happen when the very last key
has turned in the very last lock,
And yet another busload of customers arrives,
And there is word that still another is on its way?
I can tell you what will happen:
The governor will send an urgent message
to Washington,
Asking that his state be declared a disaster area
And that federal funds be sent immediately
To build more jails.

RICHARD ARMOUR

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The members and friends of CORE were likely to differ about its primary function. According to some, this was simply to stop discrimination against Negroes by non-violent means. When such was the purpose, sitters sometimes occupied all seats in a restaurant or encouraged boycotts to force a change in policy. But according to others, forcing a change in policy was not justified: the function of CORE was rather to stop discrimination by *changing the attitudes* of the persons responsible for it. As Chaplain Howard Thurman of Howard University put it, the purpose of non-violent direct action was "to tear men free from the alignment to the evil way, to free them so that they may be given an immediate sense of acute insecurity and out of the depths of their insecurity to be forced to see their kinship with the weak and insecure." When such was the purpose, sitters were likely to occupy only some of the seats in a restaurant, with the object of appealing to the conscience of customers and managers. In practice, however, as Houser admitted, CORE activities sometimes brought desegregation without changing managers' attitudes.

THERE WAS continuous study of CORE methods. The executive committee admitted in 1945 that CORE suffered from "immature leadership," and pointed out that the lack of a paid national staff reflected inadequate organization. Houser stated that many who participated in direct-action projects simply didn't have time to carry through with all the patient steps required for effectiveness. After the Executive Secretary had led an unsuccessful direct-action project to desegregate a roller-skating rink in Cleveland, during which patrons had bullied the CORE group, Houser decided that "a really tough racial situation cannot be handled by the tactics which we have used to date."

CORE leaders also frankly faced the problem posed by the participation in CORE activities of certain "undesirables"—including neurotics, leftists who were using the movement for their own not necessarily non-violent ends, and those insufficiently disciplined to resist opportunity to retaliate with violence.

There was a barrage of criticism of CORE even from those who were foursquare for desegregation. Leftists blamed it for concentrating on racial injustice without recognizing that discrimination was merely part of an unjust social order. Activists said that CORE groups spent too much time investigating and negotiating, and too little in direct action. Purists complained that CORE sometimes succumbed to public prejudice by not permitting mixed colored-white couples to appear publicly on its behalf. Strategists condemned CORE for not doing much in the South, where the need was greatest.

Professor Douglas Steere of Haverford College, a leading Quaker pacifist, answering a Fellowship of Reconciliation request that he sponsor a CORE project, wrote as follows:

> I have watched the CORE groups function in a number of cities, and there have been a number of these that I should certainly not be prepared to sponsor, for they were simply "expressing themselves" and gaining experience at the expense of those they worked on, and the ultimate result did not really advance the cause, in my way of thinking. Other CORE groups, however, who went about the process of thoroughly acquainting the persons they meant to seek to influence with what they were about, and at every point continuing this education, have seemed to me extremely useful instruments in the present situation. . . . There is still a strong element of the John Woolman approach to the slaveholders in my way of seeing the solution to these problems, and unless that is wedded to the direct-action techniques, and unless those who undertake them are exceptionally well-disciplined and mature, I do not see this kind of program resulting in one which the Fellowship can helpfully sponsor. On the other hand, I realize the necessity of some action which will give us opportunities to see whether the Gandhi technique can function in the West.

Nevertheless, CORE-sponsored action was often successful, and strong claims were made on CORE's behalf. Educator John Dewey wrote that the direct-action method "is education in action through solving life problems, and its value can hardly be overestimated." Labor leader A. Philip Randolph declared that CORE's adaptation of Gandhi's methods "has resulted in a novel and successful technique for removing discriminatory practices." Unitarian minister Homer Jack, of the Chicago Council against Racial and Religious Discrimination, said of a CORE summer project in Chicago: "A small interracial group of young people fought on more fronts and got more accomplished than most of the professional high-salaried race relations experts in Chicago."

THE CURRENT non-violent movement bears many marks of its origins in the movement of the 1940s. Today, as twenty years ago, the motivation of many of the participants has a religious basis; now, as then, there is an attempt to slough off extreme leftist or neurotic hangers-on; now, as then, the techniques are much the same: sit-ins, stand-ins, picketing, boycotts and "freedom rides." There are, however, significant ways in which the two movements differ. In the earlier movement, most of the participants were young adults; now most are students. In the 1940s, the major action took place in the North, in a generally friendly climate, with the law often in its favor; today, though there is supporting action in the North, the major projects are undertaken in the South, in a generally hostile climate and more often than not in defiance of state and local law. In the earlier movement, the action was strongly interracial; now it is more nearly dominated by Negroes. The earlier movement was on a small scale, featuring action by fairly cohesive, more or less disciplined groups, chiefly under the sponsorship of a national organization, CORE, with support from the Fellowship of Reconciliation; today it has become a mass movement, with action often spontaneous, beyond the control of any one organization. In the 1940s, the movement lacked general support by either whites or colored, or even by pacifists; today it has the support of many of the major forces of the nation, thus bearing witness to a striking reversal of public opinion.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Art and Ornithology

BIRD PORTRAITS IN COLOR. By Thomas Sadler Roberts. University of Minnesota Press. $5.95.

A GATHERING OF SHORE BIRDS. By Henry Marion Hall. Devin-Adair. 242 pp. $10.

HUMMINGBIRDS. By Crawford H. Greenewalt. Published for the American Museum of Natural History by Doubleday and Co. 250 pp. $25.

W. S. Merwin

THE FIRST things which are likely to be noticed in any of these books are the pictures, and without launching into a windy discussion of first principles, it might be worth considering why anybody would want to own portraits of birds. I can think of only two reasons: ostensible use and ostensible pleasure — the pictures must be valued either as ornithological illustrations or as art. Theoretically, there is no reason why they cannot be both. There is not much question about what makes a good scientific drawing: sharpness, clarity, the accurate representation of the object, rendered as nearly as possible typical and unmistakable. But of course the moment bird portraits or any others are considered aesthetically, even as decoration, the evidence of talent is desirable, judgment and choice become functions of taste, and it is impossible to ignore the influence of artistic convention.

In none of these three books are the pictures exclusively technical illustrations, so I had better indicate my prejudices. A considerable quantity of the bird portraiture of the last sixty years is to my taste unfortunate. Many of the bird pictures out of one copious strain that I have in mind would be entirely at home gracing the *Saturday Evening Post,* and some would have been acceptable as decorations on candy-box lids at any time during the last few generations. An air of ineffable niceness afflicts many of these productions. This oversweet school occasionally shades into the overstuffed school, where the subjects are obviously the depressing *doyens* of museum cases, stilted without being dignified by the slightest formalism, and you can smell the dust and varnish of the artificial backgrounds. In either school the ornithological details may be faultless, and yet the naturalist's shrewdness may have been ill served by the artistic and social conventions which mold his expression of it. The same sort of thing happens in the prose of some naturalists: the purple passages unfailingly conjure up mountains of unaired Victorian upholstery when they are commending the naked weather.

OF the five naturalists responsible for the ninety-two color plates in *Bird Portraits in Color,* none is artistically disastrous; though some of the figures in Walter J. Breckenridge's contributions look more stuffed than is good for them, and there is an *art-nouveau* quality about Francis Lee Jacques's backgrounds that I deplore. The bulk of the plates, after paintings by the late Major Allan Brooks and by Walter A. Weber, are unpretentious and fairly serviceable, if pretty dull. Unfortunately the most interesting artist of the five, George M. Sutton, contributed only four plates, two of which, of flycatchers, are very lovely indeed, and certainly the most beautiful in the book. On the other hand, the color on a number of pages does not enhance the looks of the volume and is ornithologically misleading. In particular the reds, at least in my copy, are very poor: either garish or pallid, but seldom true. When the book first came out, in 1934, probably neither this fact nor the other shortcomings I have mentioned were so obvious. But the publication (in the same year) of Roger Tory Peterson's revolutionary *A Field Guide to the Birds* has made many of these portraits look, by comparison, rather pointlessly fussy, while improvements in color reproduction have made for less tolerance in that respect. The text, though, when one gets around to it, is still excellent and useful, and fuller than would be possible in a field guide.

A Gathering of Shore Birds has most things to commend it, and one would expect it to be welcomed by anyone interested in birds. It is not a technical monograph, but it does cover all of the fifty-seven species of shore birds that are known to breed on the North American continent, and is the first serious study of the family since Bent's *Life Histories of North American Shore Birds,* in 1927. Of the three books considered here, this one puts least emphasis on the pictures. It relies upon line drawings by John Henry Dick; they are clear, instructive and pleasing (incidentally I think them generally superior to the same artist's more elaborate colored illustrations in *The Warblers of North America*) but it is left to the text to give a systematic presentation of the field marks. There are from two to four pages on nearly every species, containing, in each case, range, field characteristics, local names as well as the Latin ones, and an essay which may deal with the ornithological history of the species, its behavior and breeding habits, or the best conditions in which to watch it, and which may contain accounts of any of these, with extensive quotations, from other American naturalists. Dr. Henry Marion Hall himself writes clearly and with a minimal use of diminutives and meteorological rhetoric, and the volume is handsomely got up.

THE real plum, though, is Crawford H. Greenewalt's *Hummingbirds,* which must be one of the most beautiful of recent publications. Whereas even so excellent a bird book as Dr. Hall's could be expected to interest, and tempt, only those who already have some weakness for the subject, I should think that anyone who enjoyed and was fascinated by beautiful objects would be excited by Mr. Greenewalt's seventy superb color photographs. The author is an industrial executive who has been a distinguished bird photographer for several years. He photographed his first hummingbird in 1953, using a new, high-speed technique which he had been working on. The success of the experiment impelled him to hummingbirds as a subject for the next few years, to the devising of still other photographic techniques involving the development of several kinds of new equipment, and to the preparation of the present volume on these birds, which is not only photographically but ornithologically unique.

For although the literature on the 319 or so species of hummingbirds is fairly extensive, no photographic collection of any considerable part of the family has existed until now, and many of the species shown in this book have never

W. S. MERWIN is a poet whose work has appeared frequently in these pages. His latest book is The Drunk in the Furnace (*Macmillan*).

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been photographed before. Furthermore, his study of these birds and his work on the methods necessary for photographing them, led Mr. Greenewalt to a detailed examination of the optical basis of the iridescence of the hummingbird's feathers, and to an inquiry into the aerodynamics of its flight; his essay on these subjects (and on hummingbirds in general, and the photographing of them) is an original contribution to ornithological research. The book is lucidly written and eminently readable. The drawings by Dale Astle, from photographs by Mr. Greenewalt, are precise and elegant pieces of draftsmanship, to put it at its very least, and the production of the book is sumptuous.

Kremlinology

POWER AND POLICY IN THE USSR. By Robert Conquest. St. Martin's Press. 485 pp. $7.95.

Harrison E. Salisbury

IN THE United States and many other Western nations we are accustomed to a society in which organized political parties with more or less recognizable programs exist within the historical framework of a system of constitutional institutions. It sometimes happens that a small group within a government—the "kitchen cabinet," for example, of Andrew Jackson—may be studied intensively for the effect of individuals upon specific programs. Or the group which made up Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal team may be put under the microscope in an effort to determine whether Harry Hopkins or Harold Ickes was rising or falling in influence at a given moment.

But because our governmental processes are structured, conventionalized and pre-stressed to tradition and heritage, it usually serves no useful purpose, and indeed would be quite impossible, to attempt a weekly, monthly or even semi-annual rating of those individuals who stand highest in influence and prestige around the President.

For this reason when a "Kremlinologist," by a process of deductive analysis and close examination of available evidence, presents us with a hypothesis stating that Comrade X is rising to the top of the heap in the Kremlin while Comrade Y is on the way down and that the fate of Comrade Z who formerly was at the top is now unknown, there is usually a good deal of scoffing, some polite and some not so polite.

"What difference does it make?" is a frequent response. "They're all Communists, aren't they?"

But Robert Conquest shows that it does make a difference. He demonstrates that in the present conditions of the Soviet state—with its absence of structured government, its prohibition on political parties or even "fractions," its suspicion of deviation and its premium on intrigue — the "struggle for power" must be continuous. For it is only through this continuing process that policy can be formed and that political leadership can be tempered or changed.

More and more in recent years, it has become apparent that there are Communists *and* Communists. Just as the Democratic Party once was an umbrella large enough to shadow both John J. Raskob and Upton Sinclair, so the Communist Party has provided shelter for an extraordinary gamut of persons and beliefs—from a Tito in Yugoslavia to a Hoxha in Albania, from a Togliatti in Italy to a Rakosi in Hungary, from a Gomulka in Poland to a Thorez in France, from a Stalin to a Malenkov, from a Khrushchev to a Mao Tse-tung.

To list these names makes it perfectly obvious that, while they are all Communists, they are not just the same. It makes an enormous difference to the world and to the United States which Communist and what Communist line of thinking prevails, not merely within the one-third of the earth's population that is now under the Red banner, but more specifically which Communist leader is on top in Moscow—and what line he is following.

IF THE Communist movement had not been saddled by its founders with the dicta of universal truth and the fiction of unanimity there might never have arisen the science of Kremlinology.

Communist arguments do go on in public. Vivid battles are fought. But the language used, the tactics followed, are so devious, so labyrinthine, so carefully designed to conceal as much as is revealed, that only those privy to the secret language clues can follow the process—and even they must occasionally be confused.

When this procedure is set against a Russian tradition in which normal democratic usage is almost wholly absent; when that tradition has been intensified by the long rule of a despot of oriental instincts such as Stalin, it is obvious that conventional methods of analysis will hardly apply.

Limiting himself almost entirely to

HARRISON E. SALISBURY, The New York Times *correspondent, served that paper in Moscow from 1949 to 1954. Mr. Salisbury is the author of* An American in Moscow (*Harper*) *and* To Moscow—and Beyond (*Harper*). *His forthcoming book,* Moscow Journal — The End of Stalin, *will be published by the University of Chicago Press in October.*

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Soviet official materials, Mr. Conquest shows how they can be employed to construct an accurate and revealing account of the complex and dangerous mysteries of the late Stalin years. He caps this with an equally skillful account of the real struggles which have marked the post-Stalin years. His work is not only vivid in detail but impeccably researched and thoughtfully constituted.

IF Mr. Conquest's reconstruction reads like the livid pages of a penny dreadful it is not his fault. It is the fault of the melodramatic proclivities of his Russian protagonists. It is apparent, for example, that Mr. Khrushchev is presently engaged in a full-scale political struggle, in his preparation for the 22nd Party Congress of the Soviet Communists which will convene in Moscow in October. He looks to this assembly to confirm his stewardship and, if possible, hopes to win from it for the first time a Central Committee and a Presidium wholly subject to his will. If Mr. Conquest's reading of the signs is correct, his chance of achieving this maximum is not by any means certain.

This internal Soviet political struggle, which *Power and Policy in the USSR* documents with brilliance, is being carried on against the background of Mr. Khrushchev's larger conflict with his Chinese Communist comrades. In a struggle of such scope every kind of weapon and every facet of policy come into play.

It is not too farfetched in the light of these tense struggles to postulate the theory that Mr. Khrushchev's determination to raise a crisis over Berlin this fall may be only too closely related to his own immediate and internal political necessities.

If, for example, the 22nd Party Congress convenes in Moscow to the echo of distant thunder over Berlin, the chance that Mr. Khrushchev can whip his thus-far-reluctant comrades into line should be improved. And the chance that Mao Tse-tung can further extend the Chinese revolt against Soviet leadership of the Communist sphere might well be curtailed if the whole of the Communist world should be teetering on the brink of the gravest of crises with the Western powers.

The technique of employing a foreign crisis to affect a domestic political situation was not invented by Mr. Khrushchev. But the reader of Mr. Conquest's book may feel that the Soviet Premier has special reasons for wishing to take advantage of such a device at this time.

A good many learned tomes have been written by American scholars on the power structure of the Soviet Union, but few will bear comparison with this bold and original masterpiece by an English student of the Moscow scene who also finds time to compose and publish poetry and to write novels.

The Scales of Injustice

THE SHEPPARD MURDER CASE. By Paul Holmes. David McKay Co. 332 pp. $5.

Fred J. Cook

AMERICAN justice sometimes bears down with a harsh hand upon the poor and the ignorant; usually, it is more lenient with persons of wealth and influence, and one of the less lofty aphorisms of our times asserts that, if you have enough money, you can get away with murder. In the case of Sam Sheppard of Cleveland, this picture was startlingly reversed. Dr. Sam, as he became known to millions of headline readers, was pilloried for his wealth and position, a wave of public hysteria was whipped up against him, and the result, as Paul Holmes makes clear in this first full-scale reconstruction of the case, was that Dr. Sam was convicted and sentenced to prison for a wife-murder that, almost certainly, he did not commit.

Even now, seven years after the event, this conclusion probably will come as a shock to most readers, but Holmes, an experienced newspaper man who covered the trial for the Chicago *Tribune,* demolishes the myth of guilt in this carefully documented book.

Consider briefly the circumstances. In the early morning of July 4, 1954, 31-year-old Marilyn Sheppard, an expectant mother, was beaten to death in her upstairs bedroom in a large white house located in an exclusive Cleveland suburb on the shores of Lake Erie. She had succumbed to a rain of thirty-five savage blows; the walls of her bedroom were spattered with blood. Almost instantly, suspicion pointed to Dr. Sam for one primary reason: he was there. Fingerprint experts could find no indications that anyone else had been there; and as in the Nimer case on Staten Island [*The Nation,* Oct. 31, 1959] authorities leaped to the conclusion that the murderer *had* to be the one suspect known to have been on the premises.

When authorities arrive at such positive conclusions from such negative facts, the grossest injustice becomes possible. In Cleveland, the errors of officialdom were compounded by those of a rabid press. With the Cleveland *Press* leading the pack, local newspapers fanned public hysteria by playing on the theme that Dr. Sam, because of his position, was going to escape punishment. Ignoring the obvious—that this was a case of easy suspicion and grave paucity of proof—the *Press* ran page-one editorials under such loaded headlines as "Getting Away with Murder," "Why Don't Police Quiz the Top Suspect?" (overlooking the fact that they had questioned him four times in his hospital room on the day of the murder) and "Why Isn't Sam Sheppard in Jail?" Under this kind of public pressure, officials were almost forced to act; and once they did, they had a vested interest in the action. Their own reputations were then at stake, and they *had* to prove that, however wrong they might be, they were right.

PAUL HOLMES'S book deals with that proof—and the lack of it. The State proved in minute and titillating detail that Dr. Sam had been unfaithful to his wife in a years-long affair with a beautiful laboratory technician. It proved, too, that he had lied under oath when he at first denied this liaison. Then, taking a running broad jump with logic, it implied that a man who could *do these things had obviously murdered* his wife.

The facts, as Paul Holmes marshals them, quarrel sharply with the State's *non sequitur.* Two points are decisive. First, Dr. Sam's injuries. His version was that he had been badly beaten and had received a chip fracture of the second vertebra of the neck in struggles with his wife's attacker. The State theorized that he had beaten himself and that he was faking the neck injury. Its only evidence was offered by a local general practitioner, no expert, who testified that Dr. Sam didn't look too badly off to him but who also admitted he had found an absence of reflexes in the left abdominal region and thigh. The defense, by a chain of unchallenged expert testimony, showed that such an absence of reflexes indicated damage to the spinal cord. It proved the seriousness of Dr. Sam's in-

FRED J. COOK, former crime reporter for a New York metropolitan daily, is the author of "The CIA," "The FBI," "The Shame of New York" and other Nation *specials.*

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juries so well that the State abandoned its contention they were faked and tried a new hypothesis—that Dr. Sam had injured himself in a fall off the rock jetty of his lakeside estate. Even more significant was a sin of omission. The State had had Dr. Sam examined by three other doctors, but it never revealed what they found. The presumption has to be that their findings would have helped the defense.

THE second pivotal point deals with the absence of blood on the person of the defendant. In so gory a crime, it would seem inevitable that the murderer must have been spattered with the blood of his victim. Dr. Sam's T-shirt was missing, and the State suggested that he had disposed of the bloody garment in the lake. No such easy rationalization explains, however, the cleanliness of his pants. The State found only one blood splotch, on the knee of one pants leg, made apparently when Dr. Sam leaned on the blood-spattered bed to check on the condition of his wife. After the trial, the defense brought in Dr. Paul Leland Kirk, one of the nation's foremost criminal experts, to examine the murder room from which previously it had been barred. In one of the most convincingly detailed analyses in modern crime, Dr. Kirk demonstrated that there was just one area of the walls in the murder room not flecked with blood; he established that the murderer's body must have intercepted the spattering blood at this point; he showed that, from the knees up, the murderer must have been blood-caked—a finding that almost certainly eliminates Dr. Sam.

This is the kernel of the case Paul Holmes presents. There is a wealth of absorbing detail in this carefully reasoned book. It is more, far more, than just an intensely interesting account of high courtroom drama. It is a serious social document that raises important questions about our times—about the role of an irresponsible press, about the responsibility of prosecuting officials and the courts for protecting the rights of defendants instead of promoting private prestige, about the massive lethargy of our higher courts and their tendency to take the path of least resistance and close the door to defendants on appeal in controversial cases. On every count *The Sheppard Murder Case* deserves careful reading; it is a rewarding book.

TELEVISION

Saul Carson

NEWTON N. MINOW, President Kennedy's new chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, had been on the job scarcely long enough to learn that, in Washington, bills go *down* to the Hill, when he was invited to address the National Association of Broadcasters, meeting in the capital for its thirty-ninth annual convention. If Mr. Minow had not been so new to the scene, he might well have pleaded a previous engagement. He knew that the President had just sent to Congress recommendations designed to give the chairman of the FCC greater powers; he should have known that the speech his conscience would force him to make was certain to earn him the enmity of the radio-television industry, the allied forces of advertising, and the other six members (all Eisenhower holdovers) of the seven-man FCC. This army with banners, he might easily have guessed, would generate enough opposition in Congress — a simple majority in either house — to defeat Mr. Kennedy's proposals. That is precisely what happened.

Aside from the infelicitous timing, a sense of history might have caused Mr. Minow to hesitate before holding a mirror up to the broadcasting industry. He told them that they administered "a vast wasteland," he warned them not to take for granted renewal of their licenses and announced that a stricter and more searching investigation would be made into the performance of each station as a servant of the "public interest, convenience and necessity." This was certainly bold and forthright, but it ignored the fact that other bold and forthright members of the FCC have been making almost identical statements ever since the commission was founded and that not one of them has come within a megacycle of effective results. James Lawrence Fly, Clifford Durr, Frieda B. Hennock, Paul O. Porter were all crusading FCC members, determined to use the licensing power to force a sense of responsibility upon the industry and a maturity of content upon its offerings; but in the twenty-seven years of its existence the FCC has never deprived a single station of its license for failing to live up to minimum standards of broadcasting excellence.

The FCC cannot do the job; what's more it should not do the job, and should promptly cease pretending that it is doing the job. The bizarre picture of a federal regulatory agency performing as a critic came about naturally enough. The number of channels available on the air for radio and for television is limited; furthermore no private group can own a section of the spectrum (it would be like owning a length of the Mississippi). Therefore the air came to be defined a natural resource, and the FCC was given the task of judging which applicants were best qualified to receive, or retain, licenses to use property owned by the people at large.

This was by no means the FCC's only responsibility. It is essentially a

SAUL CARSON, U.N. correspondent for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, has done considerable writing for and about radio and TV.

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traffic cop of the air, alert to see that broadcasters stay in their own lanes, that they do not interfere with one another, that they are on at the hours when they are supposed to be and that in general they abide by the rules of good broadcasting procedure. These aspects of its duties, the FCC handles for the most part capably, though there have been embarrassing disclosures. Its news is made, however, by questions involving taste, public morality and intellectual stimulation.

And here, even when it has tried (and it has not always tried) the FCC has failed miserably. It is one thing to agree that broadcasting should be conducted in the "public interest, convenience and necessity"; it is quite another, *as a government agency*, to decide specific cases according to that definition. A critic may say that *Macbeth* is more in the public interest than *Gunsmoke*; a journalist may be able to distinguish between responsible reporting and partisan distortion; a psychologist may be able to determine what proportion of violence is consistent with mental health at various age levels. But how does a board of public servants pass on such matters?

THE answer is that it cannot, because no one recognizes its capability for judging such matters and because the moment it moves to enforce its judgment the cry of censorship will inevitably go up. Of course, if a particular station or network were notorious in its contempt for the public mind, the FCC could probably act effectively. But it does not work out that way — the stations, the networks, within narrow limits of variation, maintain a dead level of performance (and with a flicker of life here and there, it is indeed dead). *In this situation the FCC is powerless.*

Is the situation then hopeless? Not at all. There are several steps the FCC can take, all within the natural scope of a government agency and all potentially beneficial to the quality of broadcasting. In fact, the FCC is following some of these paths right now.

1. It can continue pressing with all vigor for the shift of commercial TV to the Ultra High Frequency section of the broadcast spectrum. UHF provides space for many more channels than the present Very High Frequency band. Instead of the present 541 commercial stations, there could be as many as 3,000; instead of three networks, there could be ten or twelve. For practical purposes, there would be no greater natural restriction on the proliferation of broadcasters than there is on the increase of newspaper or magazine publishers. There would be room for all, with full chance for diversification.

2. The Commission could encourage development of pay-TV as an alternate to broadcasting tailored to the special aims and timidities of sponsors.

3. The FCC could become a more active backer of non-commercial, educational television. Actual content should still remain outside its jurisdiction, but inducements could be offered to encourage appropriate institutions to enter the field. At present, there are in the whole country only 55 such stations.

If, in addition to these specific, positive steps, the FCC would announce that henceforth it would take no *interest in specific content, broadcasting* might begin to rise from its besotted state. This last step is as positive as the others, for in fact the present role of the FCC as the nominal, though impotent, arbiter of quality, frustrates other moves in that direction. As long as the government pretends to be doing the job, no one else will take it on. But foundation money could become available, public organizations could make themselves felt. Or at least if they did not, we should have to admit that we were getting the programs we deserved.

The Silence in Which Lulu Walks

the silence in which lulu walks
is the beginning of love,
is the beginning of irresistible tantrums over breakfast cereals,
and black eyed jealousies,

is the beginning of a simple cancer
or a remembered malice that spreads in spite of itself
out of lulu's heart.
lulu pampers herself and drinks royal pineapple sodas,
or thinks herself queen of england,
and dreams of a king, a serious, respectable man, interested in his books
and his peasants.
and lulu despises the wild boys who speak of love to her
in their hats,

suspenders hanging from their hips,
and damaged hands trading their sex on the seventh landing
or the back steps of night:
in the silence in which lulu walks
somebody is kicked in the loins,
somebody with irrepressible malignant hands beats up a negress
or a mealy-eyed spaniard,

and lulu laments the death of love in that darkest corner of her life,
in silence which is the beginning of love.

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RECORDS

Lester Trimble

THE Juilliard String Quartet has made a number of fine recordings for RCA Victor recently, and their latest release, that of Alban Berg's *Lyric Suite*, ranks with the best of them. The work itself is a product of one of the twentieth century's most extravagantly gifted composers: Berg's premature and tragic death in 1955 must surely have cost the world a number of masterpieces. Almost everything he wrote was a monument to musical and intellectual sensibility. His opera *Wozzeck* is probably the most significant single work for the contem-

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"The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons . . .

"My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion, and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children. . . . These new and terrible instruments of uncivilized warfare represent a modern type of barbarism not worthy of Christian man."

—Fleet Admiral WILLIAM D. LEAHY (Chief of Staff to Pres. Roosevelt and Pres. Truman)

NO MORE HIROSHIMAS!

End GENSHIBAKUDANSHO!

August 6, 1961 marked the 16th anniversary of the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Gen. MacArthur, speaking recently in the Philippines, said the bomb need not have been dropped.*

No words of regret can be meaningful to the 300,000 men, women and children who died in attacks, nor to the additional thousands who have since perished from the man-wrought disease we call radiation sickness and the Japanese call GENSHIBAKUDANSHO . . . the sickness of the original baby bomb.

"The bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki ended a war. They also made it wholly clear that we can never have another war. This is the lesson men and leaders everywhere must learn, and I believe that when they learn it they will find a way to lasting peace. There is no other choice."

—HENRY L. STIMSON
Secretary of War
1940-1945

But we can dedicate ourselves to the profound determination that never again will any human being ever stare upward, awe-struck, at a blinding mushroom of ultimate fury.

We can raise our voices to expose as the devil's own, the fallacious theory that security can be had through nuclear arms — until the people everywhere will say to their governments that they agree with Albert Einstein in recognizing that the *"idea of achieving security through national armaments is, at the present state of military techniques, a disastrous illusion."*

And we must rally the people to the greatest task now before us — preparing for peace. We do not belittle the many obstacles in the road, but surely the human intelligence able to devise means of total destruction, must be capable of charting a path to survival.

If the determination and dedication which went into the smashing of the atom is turned against the weapons of death, we will find the formula to enable humanity to achieve its highest hopes—a world without war.

This we believe: we will not cease our efforts until the commandment THOU SHALT NOT KILL becomes a way of life for men and governments. And never again will there be twisted and maimed children, tortured symbols of man's inhumanity to man, victims of GENSHIBAKUDANSHO.

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porary lyric stage. His Violin Concerto is similarly important. And, though our epoch has been richer in its production of fine works for the string quartet than for other standard media, Berg's *Lyric Suite* is surpassed in quality by none. It is a creation that is utterly personal, and yet directly in the main stream of our period. Though its idiom was considered "difficult" as recently as ten years ago, the music presents itself today as perfectly understandable and, indeed, deeply communicative. To an age which has penetrated the far more mysterious textures of Anton Webern, and gone on even farther to accept electronic music, Berg's refined, lyrical and humane language seems almost old-fashioned. It speaks to us in the same way Beethoven's does: directly, confidently and with full rapport.

But despite the fact that Berg's idiom has become so understandable that even at the Metropolitan Opera *Wozzeck* can enjoy a popular success, I doubt that we shall hear many ideally expressed performances of the *Lyric Suite*. The work embodies certain qualities of introversion, hypersensitivity and sensuousness that have always been alien to American psychology and are becoming more so, generation by generation. We are not, for the most part, a sensuous or a sensual people: we are practical and athletic. I do not know whether there are now in Central Europe any ensembles whose members are psychologically attuned to this music, but I suspect that it will be a rare occasion when a group of our own performers manages to capture all the painful, probing and yet affirmative undertones of this music.

The Juilliard String Quartet is probably our finest, certainly our most renowned, chamber ensemble. If anybody can get to the heart of the *Lyric Suite*, it should be they. And, as a matter of fact, they give such a handsome performance on this record that one is tempted to pass over some of its subtle shortcomings. It would be much easier to take the performance at face value and simply register the strong, general approval which the Juilliard String Quartet by now must be accustomed to receiving. But performers, whether they be soloists, chamber ensembles or orchestras, should be stylistic chameleons. They should assume each composer's style as if it were their own suit of clothes, wearing it with comfort and utter naturalness. This is the most difficult and the most fundamental requisite of their branch of the art, and it is the ability or the failure to achieve personal identification with a composer's mind and style that separates the artist from the executant. Ours, however, is an age of virtuosi, and the audience is trained to revel in brilliant, unsubtle and stylistically neutral performances. Some soloists and ensembles even develop personal styles of playing to such a degree that they become trademarks—a pretension we often greet as if it were real interpretation.

ALTHOUGH the Juilliard String Quartet has not taken on this poor conception of the performer's place in the scheme of things, the group has a personality—youthful, athletic, taut-nerved, intelligent and virtuosic—which comes through in all its playing. Most of these qualities are good. But, negatively, it must be said that the group has not yet developed to a sufficient degree a softer, more yielding, introspective or sensuous side. There is an air of cocksureness in some of its playing which, while it can be an asset in a few cases, is a liability in most. In the Berg *Lyric Suite*, it is a distinct liability, and whenever it shows through, unique elements in the personality of the music are contradicted or superseded. The linear and rhythmic gestures of Berg are not ones of exuberant, hard-driving physical energy and youthful self-confidence. Nor, for that matter, is there much music in existence (save American) that possesses these qualities. RCA Victor LM-2531—Berg: *Lyric Suite*; Webern: *Five Pieces, Opus 5; Six Bagatelles, Opus 9.*

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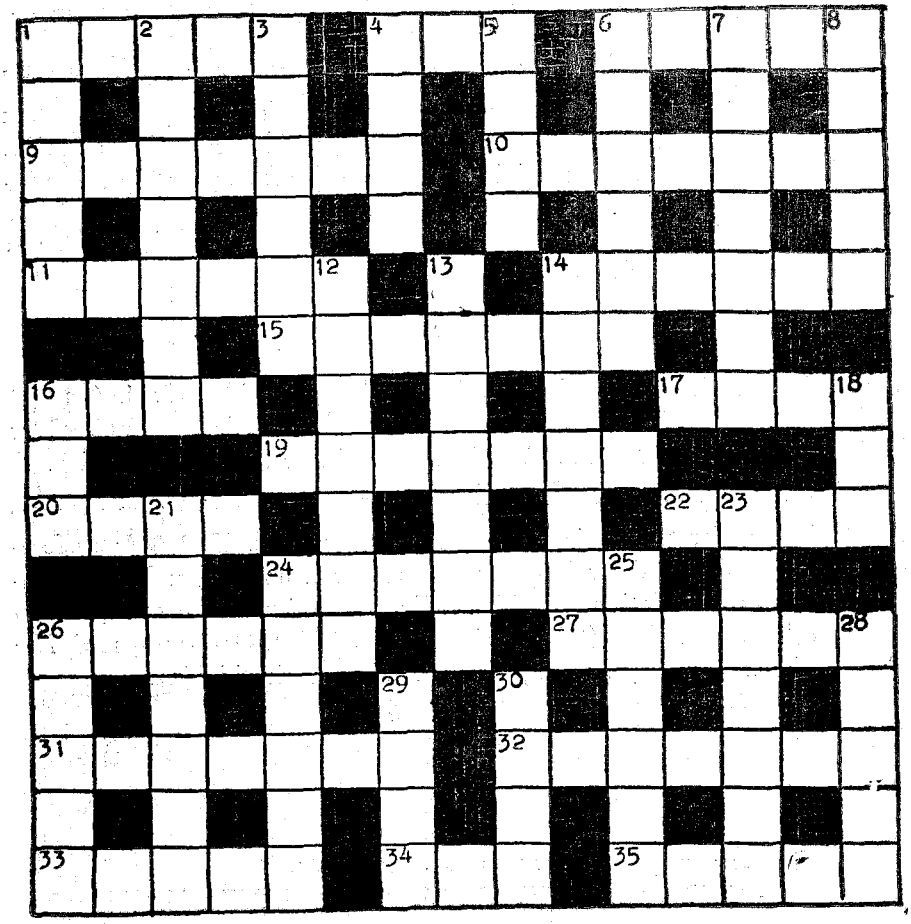
Crossword Puzzle No. 925

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1, 4 and 6 Make an all-out attempt to film classic opera? (5, 3, 5)
9 Certainly not the hospital's receiving room! (7)
10 Declined with a new detonator, possibly. (7)
11 Qualm. (6)
14 Moment and motion might have one. (6)
15 The apartment building might be written about. (7)
17 and 22 At this place Henry perhaps found a cow. (8)
19 Henry Adams said the renewal of broken relations is such a matter. (7)
20 and 34 No presumption implied by adding style to the pen. (7)
24 Ran around the vessel and drove away. (7)
26 What might be laid around sick quarters? (6)
27 From the beginning of music! (2, 4)
31 Somewhat less than a heavyweight match, perhaps. (7)
32 Where to find the point of Gray's distant prospect? (7)
33 What the chair was could be material. (5)
35 King Lear's fool said "'Tis a naughty ——— to swim in." (5)

DOWN:

1 and 26 down Do these birds have to be paid for part of the service? (10)
2 Thrust forward, but rode out of it. (7)
3 Indications of control? (6)
4 Heywood said it tarrieth no man. (4)
6 Commonly hitched around in back, as a balloon might be. (6)
7 Put back the remaining deposit. (7)
8 A narrow-minded argument is likely to be one. (5)
12 The thing that confounds us (not the deed) according to Lady Macbeth. (7)
13 Rough results if you slice with them, perhaps. (7)
14 Obtained behind locked doors? (7)
16 Sight, perhaps. (3)
18 and 5 down Lobes do—so does a kind gesture. (7)
21 Undo what 31 does? Give great satisfaction, rather. (7)
23 A mark of zero, in a manner of speaking? (7)
24 Is it the job of a female to put on weight? (6)
25 The fruit of two generations? (6)
28 and 16 across Puts an unusual burden on something other than concealed weapons, certainly. (9)
29 Bows of ships, by the sound of them. (4)
30 Might be taken neat, in the manner of 4? (4)

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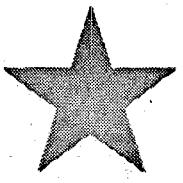

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